

PEACE NEWS

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Pope's plea for children

IN an encyclical letter published on Sunday, January 6th, the Pope made a special appeal for the starving children of Europe, and ordained a Children's Day, on which help should be given by prayer, work and offerings.

Nobody, he said, should hesitate to contribute time and money to a cause so opportune and essential. Those who are themselves less wealthy should give what they can with open hands and willing heart. Those who live in luxury should reflect and remember that the indigence, hunger and nakedness of these children will constitute a grave and severe indictment on them before God, the Father of Mercies, if they harden their hearts.

The Pope pictured the distress of modern war and the plight of so many children today. In his mind's eye he saw these children wandering aimlessly through towns and villages, forsaken and forgotten, and exposed to many dangers. He implored authorities and individuals alike speedily to come to their aid, whether by public schemes or private initiative. This would not only be an act to promote Christian faith: it is a necessity in the interests of society as a whole.

The Pope concluded by saying that he wanted to make this matter everybody's concern in the form of an encyclical because of its overriding urgency.

Work for the Court

— but is it necessary?

A FRONTIER dispute which has continued for nearly a hundred years is to be submitted to the International Court of Justice by Great Britain.

This will be the first case for the new Court, which is not yet constituted.

By a treaty in 1859, the frontier between Guatemala and British Honduras was delimited, with the additional provision for the joint building of a road to Belize, the capital of British Honduras. The road somehow was never built, and Guatemala held that the Treaty was therefore invalid and claimed all or part of Honduras.

This is not, of course, by any means the first dispute to go to an International Court. Nor is it one of the critical kind. The criticism of internationalists has always been that World Courts have not been appealed to on the really crucial issues.

SUFFERING - AND COMMUNITY

"EUROPE has suffered too much," said George Santayana recently. Those simple and eloquent words touch the reality of our present condition more nearly than pages of elaborate analysis. It is well to remember them. When we are bewildered by brutalities and dismayed by stupidities, and the behaviour of nations is almost beyond belief, let alone rational justification, to say to ourselves: "Europe has suffered too much," brings real relief.

For that "too much" takes us into the realm of the incalculable. What happens when a man has suffered "too much"? What does "too much" mean? "Too much" in respect of what? His capacity for conceiving a

"ATOMIC CONTROL" MUST MAKE OR BREAK UNO

JUST now the first meeting of UNO very properly has the limelight. Are we to be just sceptical of it? Prophecy its eventual failure, and wait to say: "I told you so"? I think this would be wrong. Something of real value to humanity may grow out of UNO. If it does, UNO will have changed essentially in the process of that growth. Without radical change it will be useless, and even harmful, as the League of Nations eventually became. But to demand that it must be changed immediately would snap the very slender threads that bind the nations together.

It will not be very long before UNO will be confronted by the most explosive matter ever laid on the table at an international organization of nation-states—namely, the problem of international control of atomic energy. If UNO can survive that detonation, we shall have solid ground for hope that it will survive anything. If not, we shall all know that the organization is useless. That problem must either make or break it, visibly. The least we can do is to have patience till then.

The only terms possible

IF the charter of UNO seems to us a document which makes existing anarchy into an institution, this is not the moment to say so. For the charter itself will soon be in the melting-pot. For the moment, it serves a useful purpose. It is constituting the organization, and constituting it on the only terms in which it was possible to bring it into being at all. Everybody knows that on no other terms would Russia come in.

Therefore instead of criticising the terms of the charter, we have to ask ourselves the question: which would have served humanity best of three possible alternatives: (1) that there should be no such organization at all, (2) that it should have been constituted on terms that Russia would not accept, and therefore that Russia should have been excluded, (3) that the present organization should exist as it is? It is possible to put up a good case for any of these three alternatives. But those who reject the charter on principle ought to remember that they are committing themselves to either (1) or (2). There is not, and never has been, a fourth alternative.

Moment deferred

FOR my part, though I think there is much still to be said in favour of (2), I am glad that it did not happen so. If it had, the atomic bomb would already be generally conceived to be a weapon—of offence, or defence does not matter—against Russia. It is better for humanity that that line of thought should not be uppermost in men's minds. If it is going eventually to be forced upon them, by the impossibility of reaching any effective agreement about the international control of atomic energy, still it is better that this moment should be deferred. By deferring it we have a much better chance of its being made apparent to all the world where the real obstacle lies. And if the obstacle is really there (as we hope it won't be) it is very important to know where it is.

Will it be found to lie in the Russian reluctance to submit to that degree of inspection and control of its economy which effective international control of atomic energy demands? Or will it be found to lie in the American reluctance

clear purpose and acting coherently in pursuit of it?

We may not be able to analyse the phrase; but for all that, in spite of its pathos, it is comforting. It arouses a kind of sympathy with actions which seemed to us intolerable before. It brings us into community with diverse and mutually hostile manifestations of the tormented human spirit, and brings them (in the world of imagination anyhow) into community with one another. And it gives us hope.

A Europe which has suffered too much may be purged by its suffering and enter into a new and different world: a world "where everything is forgiven and it would be strange not to forgive."

THE EDITOR.

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Observer's Commentary

ance to submit to such a thing? American reluctance may not be so great as Russia's, but it is pretty profound. It is customary to assume that USA would have accepted a charter which denied the veto-power to members of the Security Council. It is not at all certain that she would. In USA the State Department may propose; but it is Congress which disposes.

America's attitude

THOUGH it is reported that American opinion about the atom-bomb has been changed by the scientists, who have demolished the naive, but presidential belief that USA could hug it to itself as "a sacred trust," I doubt whether the change has gone deep enough to make it impossible for the politicians to exploit the atom-bomb in the interest of a new (and more dangerous) isolationism. We know that some of the most influential leaders, like Senator Vandenberg, will not hear of any "sharing of the secret" with Russia, unless they are satisfied of the reality of international control. But one wonders how far even these Americans are prepared for real international control of the development of atomic energy in USA.

There is a real difference in this matter between the big Three. Britain, the junior partner, is eager and willing to submit to international control. If we are active participants in an atomic war, our destruction is certain. Even if we—as I hope we shall—declare that we will on no account participate in such a war, we still run the risk of complete destruction. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by international control.

Crucial choice

BUT neither America nor Russia (as far as our present knowledge goes) are faced with either the certainty or the risk of complete destruction. They are the two great powers which, by reason of their extent of territory, might hope to survive an atomic war. The real question is, therefore: Which is the more forbidding to them both—the surrender of sovereignty involved in submitting their internal economy to international inspection and control, or the risk of the destruction as an atomic war will certainly inflict upon them?

Of course, I cannot answer the question. The circumstances of the two colossi are so different. Of the two, Russia probably has the better chance of sheer survival, once she has mastered the technique of the atomic bomb, because her great spaces are greater. Of the two, Russia will lose most face by submitting her economy to international inspection: for some at least of the effective strength of her present régime depends upon the atmosphere of secrecy with which it is enveloped, and the long inculcated and now universal belief that Russia is the citadel of the new humanity, permanently beleaguered by the embattled bourgeoisie.

On the American side, it is easy to overestimate the dynamic force of the "idealism" with which she is traditionally supposed to be motivated. Lately, more than ever, it has seemed to consist in denouncing other people for failing to solve problems while giving them no help in doing so. It is not therefore cynical to wonder whether she will find the diminution of sovereignty so very much more congenial than Russia. Still, I think that, when she comes to the hurdle, she will get over it. But, in the case of Russia, it involves almost a mental revolution. For if international control of atomic energy is practicable, the Marxist-Leninist ideology visibly

THE PROSPECT

IF the United Nations lives in the minds and the hearts of our peoples it will be able to adapt itself to the changing needs of a changing world and it will endure. If it lacks broad popular support no charter, however perfect, will save it.

The United Nations is not a mere pact among its members. It is an institution or a series of institutions capable of life and growth. Let us use the institutions that we have created to help one another rebuild a shattered world in which there can be real security. Let us not be unduly concerned about possible shortcomings of the Charter before we have even tried to operate under it.

If the United Nations becomes a working institution with broad popular support, devoted to the development of peace, security, and human well-being, whatever defects there may be in its lettered provisions will not be beyond practical remedy. Institutions that come to live in the minds and the hearts of the people somehow manage to meet every crisis. But I offer a word of warning. Let us not expect feats of magic overnight from the institutions we have created. Let us beware of the die-hard enthusiasts as well as the die-hard unbelievers. Let us not think that we can give over any and every problem to the United Nations, and expect it to be solved. Let us avoid creating excessive burdens upon the institutions of the United Nations, especially in their infancy.

—Mr. James Byrnes, US Secretary of State, opening the general debate of the UN Assembly.

breaks down. USA has no dogmatic obstacle of that kind to overcome.

Sanity and neutrality

ANYHOW, this is the real struggle which awaits UNO, and will either make or break it. It cannot be evaded; neither can it be long postponed. It is, essentially, an issue to be decided by USSR and USA. Britain can have little directly to say in it. But indirectly Britain can help: first, by making it crystal-clear that Britain herself would welcome the most rigorous international control of her use of atomic energy, and, second, by solemnly proclaiming that she will, under no circumstances, participate in another world-war.

That would be not only an assertion of our own sanity—for our one hope of survival, if another world-war breaks, is absolute neutrality. It might also help to lessen Russia's fear of a huge combination of hostile states against her—the fear that drives her to her preposterous propaganda against closer union of Western Europe. If Britain were to proclaim her neutrality, and in the meanwhile offer—under guarantees of inspection—to reduce her armed forces to the quota demanded by whatever authentic international authority emerges from UNO, it might help to solve the greatest problem that has ever confronted mankind. And whether or not it fails or succeeds in this, the proclamation of neutrality remains our only hope of survival.

While Byrnes roams

SOME information recently given in the excellent Washington newsletter, Human Events, supplies an illuminating, but rather discouraging, sidelight on some of the observations above. State Secretary Byrnes (it says) publicly admitted that his purpose in going to Moscow was to get Molotov to the UNO meeting. It also tells this story:

"Byrnes, a few hours before he left for Moscow, disclosed to some Members of Congress the proposal on the atomic bomb which he intended to offer Russia; access by Russia to our scientific data (but not the 'know-how'), in return for a Russian promise of co-operation in the UNO. Some of these Members of Congress voiced their disapproval, opposing the giving of atomic data to Russia. Then, after Byrnes' departure, they went to President Truman and repeated their protest. The President replied: 'Boys, I'm with you 100 per cent. Look at this directive I gave Byrnes'; handing them a document. To their surprise, they found that the document was substantially Byrnes' proposal! Either the President had not read his own directive, or he did not understand it."

3-Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

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should be addressed to the Manager

GERMANY AFTER THE NAZI CRASH

SURVEYING the progress of political education in Germany in a recent broadcast, Mr. Chester Willmot deplored the American decision to hold elections in their zone immediately, and to establish democratically elected governments for the three provinces of their zones by the middle of the year. The Germans, he maintained, are not ready for it. They are preoccupied by the problems of bare survival; and the crash of the Nazi régime has left them stupefied.

In a letter to "The Friend" (Jan. 11), Mr. Roger Wilson takes the same point of view, and adds a further consideration.

"It is of supreme importance that the first jobs done by democratic Germans should be successful. Civil administration must be so difficult this winter that in any positive sense it cannot be successful. Every failure of a German democrat will be attributed to his ideas, not to the impossibility of his environment."

Like Mr. Willmot, Mr. Wilson holds that the policy followed in the British zone of slower transfer of authority is the best, provided "there is a real effort to find sincere and able German democrats."

Against this is an interesting letter from a non-German resident in Hamburg which we have received through the good offices of the WRI. He agrees with most other disinterested and sympathetic observers: that "the German people is undergoing a great spiritual crisis, due to their loss of faith in National Socialism and their not finding the way to democracy yet." But he maintains that a process of re-democratization was going on in Germany during the last two or three years of the war, but that it stopped dead after the capitulation, owing to discouragement of political activities by the military government.

If that were the sole indictment, we should be inclined to say it could not be sustained, and that no lasting damage would be done by the delay in permitting the resumption of democratic political activity in the British zone. What Britons mean by democracy and would like to see established in Germany cannot be inculcated merely by encouraging political activity in Germany's present condition. Such premature politicisation suits Russian ideas better than our own; and the effect of it would probably be to create a number of paper organizations which would stand little chance against the highly favoured Communist party, operating from the Eastern zone.

More weighty is the charge that the punishment of Germany is so excessive and the attitude towards the German people so harsh that even those who looked forward to the overthrow of the Nazi régime by the Allies are now in despair.

"The German people is disappointed in its heart of hearts. National Socialism was beaten down by, and in the name of Democracy, but conquering Democracy proves to be no better than Nazism, of which Germany has had its fill. The argument that the Military Government wants to do away with Nazism once and for all is not an excuse for employing Nazi methods against the entire German people."

Half a year of military occupation of Germany has proved fatal in many respects to the cause of Democracy in this country. A great many of the simple Germans who were enthusiastic about the invasion and considered it a turning point in the history of their country have lost heart already and begun to feel that Nazism was not so bad after all."

This is the judgment of a resident in the British zone, where conditions are admittedly better than in the Russian or the French. Disheartening though it is, we do not believe that the damage done is irremediable; the tragedy is that there is still no certain prospect of improvement, at least for Germany as a whole.

Nevertheless, we must not despair. We believe that the present British government has better intentions towards Germany than any other of its victors. We must do all we can to hasten the ripening of the nascent good-will towards the German people in order that it may be visibly expressed, not in doctrinaire democratization, but in active sympathy for their suffering and a forthright defence of their just claim to a human existence.

The Nature

I ARGUED in my first article that politics must be the business of the pacifist, not because politics is sufficient in itself to bring about those social changes which pacifists agree to be necessary, but because it is only through political activity that we can secure the social context within which those more fundamental changes can possibly be effected.

Pacifism is "perfectionist," as our critics rightly tell us, but we know that this world is not perfect. Pacifism, insofar as it can be said to be a policy at all, is a bet against long odds on the highest good in men, an appeal to what the Quakers call the inner light. But the pacifist would be a poor historian, as well as a poor theologian, if he believed that there is not evil in men as well. Pacifist politics must take account of this evil. Left-wing theory generally—the mind of Mr. Koestler's "Commissar"—follows the sentimental humanism of Rousseau in closing its eyes to inherent wickedness, to what the Christian calls Original Sin.

A pessimistic Socialist

This reflection does not lead me to become a Tory, but what might be called a Pessimistic Socialist. By which I mean that while Socialistic legislation is a step in the right direction, I do not for one moment imagine it will initiate the millennium. Pessimism is a very proper emotion in the realm of politics. Optimists become extremists, and extremists—from Richelieu and Robespierre to Hitler and Stalin—do most of the harm in the world.

I have quoted Aristotle, and I want now to suggest that Plato, among all philosophers, had the soundest appreciation of the purpose of politics. He would refute the optimism of human-

MAURICE CRANSTON'S second article
"In defence of Labour Pacifism"

of Social Democracy

ism that man is on the whole, and at bottom, rational and teachable. Such a presupposition, he would say, is only a particular example of that heresy which maintains that the history of mankind witnesses a progress from imperfection to perfection. The causes of this heresy, in the form which it assumes in the 20th century, clearly arise from an accident of history—the increased power over nature which enabled mankind to multiply commodities in the 19th century. Man, it seemed before 1914, was on a fair way to subdue his external enemies, fire and flood, pestilence, disease and want; and his victory naturally led to a belief that an extension of his progress along the same lines would inaugurate a millennium. The world, as it appeared to the 19th century mind—and to the "Commissar" still—was moving towards the realisation of an ever greater instalment of good. But, the Platonist points out, man's true enemy remains within himself; it is still his own uncontrolled passions and appetites. New-won power over nature has not tamed these, on the contrary, it has rendered them more violent because it has given them greater opportunity for gratification.

What, then, must be the function of politics? In Plato's words, it is "the art of the second best." Legislation not to improve the nature of man, but to prevent catastrophe. Its object is to prevent deterioration, not to introduce betterment, to hold off disaster, not to bring birth to the millennium. To use statesmanship for millennial purposes, as the "Commissar" does, is to pursue a will-o'-the-wisp, in quest of which you are in danger of

losing, through the effects of disillusion and disappointment, such advantages—some measure of stability and security, for example—as mankind has hitherto been able to achieve.

A pacifist who was also a Tory could have come with me so far. I do not know, incidentally, if there is such a thing as a Tory pacifist alive, but the idea of one is not so grotesque to my mind as to some. There is a lot to be said for Toryism. A lot to be said, that is, for sticking to British constitutional traditions, and to capitalism. Both offer an assurance of personal freedom and tolerance such as no other system affords. Croce, the Italian philosopher, wrote in *Horizon* some months ago that liberty and capitalism are inseparable. Perhaps he is right. For in the few countries that have become Social Democratic—New Zealand, Australia, Sweden, and the others—the economic system remains 60 per cent. (or more) capitalist. Socialism in Denmark is more appreciable, but it is Co-operative and not State Socialism. Therefore, thinking tolerance and liberty are about the most valuable features of any known political system, I am against 100 per cent. Nationalisation of British industry. Not only am I a Pessimistic Socialist, but I am a Right-wing Socialist, as well. It must begin to appear how suitable I am for membership of the British Labour Party!

But why be a Socialist at all?

The lesson

When I was 16 and an enthusiast for the League of Nations Union, I once went to collect a subscription from an elderly, crippled workman. He lived with his wife in one room on 17s. a week. His rent was 8s. 6d., which went to a particularly unpleasant type of millionaire playboy baronet with a Conservative seat in the House of Commons. On the other half of their income, the pensioner and his wife contrived somehow to keep themselves alive. In previous years, moreover, this man had given a shilling annually to the LNU. But he told me he had lost interest.

"I can't afford tobacco, now," he told me. "And without a pipe I can't think about big things such as peace and war."

That is a reflection I have never been able to forget. Since then I have believed passionately that political freedom is not a sufficient precondition of social salvation—every citizen must be assured of economic security as well. This is not to say economic security for the common man is worth the sacrifice of freedom, as Communists think. I should say that political liberty and economic security were of equal importance, and that in the absence of either the pacifist's revolution will never be achieved. People with empty bellies, like my pensioner friend with his empty pipe, "can't think about big things such as peace and war." And who can expect them to?

This is my defence of the Labour Party. It not only believes in social security for the common man, but is now, as the majority party in the House of Commons, in a position to translate this principle into reality. To my mind this is a very noble and splendid thing. Christian preachers have been pointing the way to heaven for two thousand years, but it is the fallible Socialist politicians who have literally done as Jesus said, and fed his creatures. There is a curious emotional satisfaction in doing something constructive. The Leftist splinter groups, the I.L.P., the SPGB, Commonwealth, and the rest may be more intellectually satisfying to the political theoretician, but it is the Labour Party that gets things done, the Labour Party that is on the way to providing that background of freedom and security against which more fundamental changes in the hearts of men can be brought about.

LETTERS

Labour pacifism

I HAVE never tried taking umbrage, but I am sorry if anything said by Wilfred Wellock, Harold Bing or me has caused Maurice Cranston to take anything that sounds so unpleasant.

The views held by this unholy trinity (and many others) have been fully stated. But it seems necessary now to add that we have little time to regard our navel, as Maurice Cranston darkly hints.

Did it occur to our critic that we have all made a long and close study of politics? If so, he must realise that the rather obvious difficulties he mentions have been carefully considered by all of us. No pacifist group has ever been more politically conscious than the No More War Movement, of which we were all formerly members.

The achievement and defence of liberty can be attempted by one of two methods: by goodwill, combined (where necessary) with passive resistance; or by force. Politics in this country means coercive action. It also means a confusion of issues, because the support of any existing party involves one in the support of many things to which a pacifist should be firmly opposed. A limited objective can be sought by political means, given certain conditions—as Gandhi has shown—without sacrificing pacifism. But in Britain much individual work must be done before we can hope to see the human material with which a party could be built to which I, personally, could give even a limited support.

Meanwhile, if I am faced by the problems Maurice Cranston raises, I hope I shall have the courage to meet them in the spirit of my Quaker ancestors, and freed from the moral mill-stone of membership in any party which denies to subject races the liberty which I desire for myself, or a party which uses (even in self-defence) the force which I am not personally prepared to employ. If my liberty really depends upon coercive methods, I believe that I should be prepared to lose it—or my life—rather than seek political "protection." If I wish that "protection," I must take my share in maintaining it by armed force.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

Rubble and Roads

I returned from an Agricultural committee meeting where we discussed the use of rubble from bombed sites for road repairs, to read your comment that "Mr. Bevin has to build with the rubble Mr. Churchill has left behind."

Rubble is poor stuff for building, but is excellent "hard core" for new roads, or repairing old ones, and it is sensible to make roads before erecting buildings. We must be thankful if Mr. Bevin can do that much.

C. E. TRITTON.

Ringmer, Sussex.

Sneering judgment

May I dissent from both the tone and substance of the Duke of Bedford's letter on the dollar-loan (PN, Jan. 4).

His assertion that "a working knowledge of our financial system is a qualification for a member of the legislature" superior to any other "working knowledge" is arguable, if unconvincing. But the judgment he then passes on "the mentality, motives and standards of Members of Parliament of both Houses . . . determined not to profit by the counsel of those who are in a position to give

them enlightenment" is shamefully arrogant.

So far from the currency-experts being agreed they are sharply divided, unless the Daltons and Keyneses are ignored and only the Beaverbrooks and Bedfords admitted. Moreover, the general impression was that a high conscientiousness informed those Parliamentary discussions in which the Duke sees Labour members putting Party above "conscience and (sic) national interest." Can he not conceive of honest men pondering deeply the whole situation—not as a narrowly "currency" problem—and honestly disagreeing with him?

The same question is evoked by his: "seeing that the British people appear so fond of frequent and unnecessary wars." Such sneers are utterly alien to the job which pacifists are trying to do among their neighbours. The Duke completely misunderstands the temper of ordinary folk—including ordinary pacifists.

HOWARD WHITTEN.

Natural States

I did not expect to read such nonsense from you as the editorial "Compelling circumstances." All that word-display around "nation-State"! Mr. Savage is right: in the sense which he intends the State has no existence. All the "reality" of the late Nazi State that we can get hold of and "experience" is the occupants of the dock at Nuremberg! If you use the word "ruling clique" instead of "nation-State" most of your statements would be true; and that would justify Mr. Savage's letter. In the last analysis, in the world of human reality and experience, all political action is the work of some human individual or another. Men who hold and wield power have to be humanized and moralized. That is the root statement of the truth on this matter, as no doubt many statements in your writings would bear witness.

ALFRED HY. HAFFENDEN.

23 Moorcroft Drive,

Green End, Manchester, 19.

One true religion

There is, and ever has been, but one true religion in the world. It is that religion which consists in the operation of the spirit of truth in the minds of mankind, and man's co-operation therewith. All other "religions" are spurious.

The justifiable contempt of E. W. Sturgeess and others for those organizations which are collectively referred to as "the Church" is, in itself, quite a strong proof, unreflectively adduced though it be, of the universality of truth's infiltration. The real church is simply the aggregation of persons everywhere who (no matter what their labels), of free volition, walk in the Light, i.e., in conformity with truth's enlightenment.

Outside true religion and the real Church there is not, nor can be, peace. True religion and the real church are in no way whatsoever identifiable with religiosity and "Churchianity."

CHARLES W. D. NEWMAN.

Beechcroft, Brownshill,

Stroud, Glos.

Pacifists on the land

I am endeavouring to compile a record of work done on the land and for the improvement of conditions in the countryside by pacifists during the recent war. This may have been accomplished individually or collectively, within or outside the trade unions. If your readers have any information to give (failures and faults as well as achievements) I should be glad to hear from them.

Any papers or notes indicated as returnable will be promptly dealt with and sent back.

LESLIE A. SMITH.

"Byways," Felcourt,
East Grinstead, Sussex.

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12

AT the last meeting of PPU National Council it was decided to disband the Public Action Committee and the Immediate Issues Sub-group of the International and Industrial Social Order Committee in favour of a single committee charged with the responsibility of considering, initiating and maintaining public action on matters of more immediate urgency and importance. This new Immediate Issues Committee has thus inherited the responsibility for giving consideration to the subjects which the IISO group has made its concern and also for carrying on the work already initiated by the PAC.

In the meantime the Committee is primarily concerned with the situation in Europe and in Germany in particular, in view of the negative attitude adopted by the Government to all the proposals put forward by the Save Europe Council to them, and also to the Air Rescue Scheme for children. Various plans are under consideration for making the tragic need more widely known and endeavouring to enlist more public support.

In the meantime the Committee regards it as of supreme importance that the COBSRA appeal for £100,000 should be completely successful, not only because the additional food available will only reach the Continental relief teams of the voluntary societies if the money is subscribed, but also because the

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Government may very well judge the state of public opinion in this country by the speed and adequacy of the response made to this appeal. Here is an Immediate Issue.

Another opportunity which must be quickly seized is that presented where the documentary film "The Last Shot" is being shown. To distribute the special leaflet (prepared by the Committee and referred to in last week's Peace News) to those who have seen the film will link up the picture of the results of starvation in Holland to what we want them to see and do about the starvation in Germany.

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THE Peace Committee of the Society of Friends have planned a Demonstration at the Central Hall, Westminster, as the climax of their winter work throughout the country and also a definite pacifist witness in the face of present-day problems. They have invited the FoR and PPU to co-operate. The meeting will follow closely on the sessions of the UNO in the same building and will have for its main title "No Atom War." Fuller particulars will appear in Peace News shortly but in the meantime the Committee asks you to book the date—the afternoon and evening of March 16.

The Committee would again encourage groups to use every opportunity through indoor and open-air meetings of making known to an increasingly wide public the particular pacifist contribution to Immediate Issues.

STUART MORRIS.

12 - Immediate Issues.

ONLY TEN YEARS

BERTRAND RUSSELL is by no means the most optimistic of persons. He has, in fact, been frequently described as a constitutional pessimist. Yet recently, making one of his rare appearances in the House of Lords, he said *à propos* the Atom Bomb, that humanity had ten years in which to learn how to conquer this menace. He thought, in other words, that we could assume that there would not be a major war for ten years. (There are, of course, minor wars going on at this moment, in China, in Persia, in the Pacific islands, and in the gaols of Franco Spain, but that is only incidental, since the countries concerned are not likely to use Atom Bombs in those conflicts.)

We can, I think, take it for granted that Russell is right, and that we have ten years to get things more or less straight. Somehow, in ten years, people have to become more internationally minded, somehow they have to realise that, because a man is a German or a Russian or a Jew, he is not therefore in any fundamental way different from themselves, and not consequently a suitable victim for a means of extermination more cruel than humane people would inflict upon a rat.

★

NOW, there are various possible attitudes towards the menace of the Atom Bomb. There are some who hold that all that is necessary to ensure world peace is to disclose every secret of its manufacture to the Soviet Union, and then everything in the garden will be lovely. This, of course, completely disregards the realistic line of Soviet policy, and it also ignores the existence in this country and (especially) in the USA of financial interests which regard the Soviet Union as a sort of modern embodiment of Beelzebub.

If all countries had the innermost secret of Atom Bomb manufacture, that would not ensure that what is already becoming known as World War III will not break out. From the days of the invention of gunpowder, down through Nobel's gift to humanity, dynamite, to the present time, with the Atom Bomb, the latest weapon has always been described as being so horrible that it will make war impossible. The modern State, if unrestrained by the persistent pressure of public opinion, is so apt to act like a criminal lunatic, that there is no guarantee whatsoever that Atom Bombs will not be used. But, says Bertrand Russell, probably not for ten years at least. And then...?

This is where I see the need for

rapid work on the part of the Pacifist Movement—work linked up with the corresponding Movements in other countries. If we do not want to be driven to slaughter Americans or Russians, or to be slaughtered by them ourselves, we have to influence public opinion in such a way as to create a really powerful movement of individual resistance. Here I agree absolutely with the recently-expressed opinion of Alex Comfort. Unless the Pacifist Movement can become nationwide—nay, world-wide—within the next ten years the probability of mass suicide by humanity is undeniable. Barbarism is coming back if we do not stop it. Let us make no mistake about that. Such organizations as the PPU may not seem very powerful weapons to defeat the new barbarism which threatens us, but they are the only weapons we have.

Our opponents have great newspapers, radio stations, films, and all the other media of distortion which we know so well. But all those things did not enable a past government to "put across" the Hoare-Laval plan for the partition of Abyssinia. Public opinion caused that plan to be dropped. Public opinion did not allow itself to be stampeded at the General Election of 1945, although quite ninety per cent. of the Press, national and local, assured the voter that the Churchill Government would be triumphantly returned.

★

THAT, I feel, is the hope for Pacifism. We are now in the post-war stage, when war-weariness is at its height, when disillusioned men and women are casting their uniforms aside with a sigh of thankfulness. This is our opportunity for making Pacifists; this is our chance to see that the cause of humanity—not the cause of any section, national, religious, or racial—triumphs.

The zero hour, Bertrand Russell says, is ten years hence. Can we influence opinion sufficiently to create a wave of Pacifist sentiment in all countries? And can that wave become a tidal wave by (at latest) 1956? It is on that, more than any other factor, that the future of the world may depend.

We now have a fairly progressive Parliament in this country—certainly the most hopeful Parliament for our ideas since 1906. Exercise influence on MP's, exercise influence on papers. Write letters, write articles, attend meetings, do everything that will form public opinion against war in every form. That is my advice to every Pacifist. This is a great opportunity. It may be the last.

John Rowland

"A Sustained Effort"

THE ATTENDANT, described (Time, Jan. 7) as "one of America's most curious publications" is run by the 2,000-odd conscientious objectors who have been acting as mental-hospital attendants during the war.

When (says Time) overcrowded, short-of-help US mental hospitals first appealed to Selective Service for help, they hoped for a few emergency workers to tide them over the crisis. What they got, from the "conchie," was a sustained conscientious effort that has lifted mental-hospital standards throughout the country.

In most hospitals, the CO-attendants were shocked by what they were up against in the early days of the war. When neither doctors nor nurses were available, patients were often left for hours in charge of a motley crew of hired hands who knew little about the job and cared less. Specialized treatments were neglected. There was no one to tell newcomers how the difficult work should be done.

The COs compared notes, concluded that their own experiences were probably the best available guide. Early in 1942 they organized the Mental Hygiene Programme of Civilian Public Service. They launched The Attendant, in which the COs published their own findings along with articles by doctors, nurses, ex-patients.

Doctors and nurses have written on such subjects as incurable patients, mechanical restraint, patients who are not fit to be seen. Attendants have described how to be friendly but not overly liked by patients, what to do in case of an escape, what to do about feeding, sanitation, the use of force. An ex-inmate contributed "A Patient's-Eye View of Nurses and Attendants."

Soon to be released from service, the COs plan to expand their war-time programme into a permanent organization. The "Attendant" is being replaced this month with a bigger publication, the "Psychiatric Aid." With funds supplied largely by Friends, Mennonites, and Brethren, a full-time staff of eleven COs will also publish handbooks for attendants and campaign for training courses in all mental hospitals.

CLEVEDON FRIEND AND PACIFIST

Miss Sarah Jane Lury, of Clevedon-on-Sea, who died on Jan. 3, would have been 99 on March 21, and was believed to be the oldest member of the Society of Friends. Active and vigorous until the day before her death, she was a most ardent advocate of peace. She had travelled widely, rendering great service to the Society of Friends in Canada and the United States, and especially in New Zealand, which she visited twice. She was a keen co-operator—for she believed the world needs a co-operative outlook—and an enthusiastic temperance worker. Wherever she went she was quick to see and use opportunities for any word or deed that might witness for peace.

J. S.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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LITERATURE, &c.

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THOSE WHO DARE think, value Ronald Mallone's poetry: "Passionate affirmation of our fundamental values" (New Leader), "Vigorous and expressive" (Herbert Read), "Sensitiveness to anguish of world" (The Friend). Peoples' Post praises latest volume "Whose Victory?" (2s. 6d., post 2d.) for "nobility of thoughts, courage, exquisite contrast." 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

MEETINGS, &c.

P.P.U. National A.G.M. Book April 27 and 28. London.

"RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP." Club Leaders' Conference (open to all interested). Jan. 27, 1946. 10.30 a.m.—5 p.m. at Alliance Hall, Westminster. Chairman: Alex Wood. Spkrs.: Jack Singleton (Lecturer, Youth Clubs, Forces, etc.); Ian McLuckie (ex-Warden, Liverpool University Settlement). Tickets 1s. at door. Parties from Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

FEB. 2-3. All London Area P.P.U. members invited to important Conference on the Future of the P.P.U. King's Cross Mission, Crestfield St. Details from Roger Page, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

KINGSTON. SPECIAL Mtg. at Friends Mtg. Hse., Eden St., Tues., Jan. 22, 7.45 p.m. Spkr.: John Hoyland, "The Saving of Europe," Chrmn.: Canon T. B. Scrutton. Admission free. Everybody welcome.

BIRMINGHAM P.P.U. New Year Party, Dick Sheppard Hse., Jan. 26, 6 p.m., 1s. Food contributions welcomed.

PERSONAL

BOOKBINDERS URGENTLY needed, willing to give priority to pacifist press. Write Phoenix, 141 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.

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We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1., which will often be able to give useful advice.

HAPPY VEGETARIAN family, 2 young children, baby April, urgently needs helper. Own rm., time for outside interests. Weatherhead, 54 Pembroke Rd., Bristol, 8.

THE NO Conscription Council regus. Shorthand/Typist full or part-time, write, Sec. Room 16, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. (Phone: HOL. 8860.)

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Philip Sansom

To the Editor

MAY we beg the courtesy of your columns to draw attention to what seems to us a serious injustice in a matter of public interest. It concerns Philip Sansom, who was prosecuted at the Old Bailey in April last on a charge of alleged conspiracy to disaffect members of the Armed Forces. The prosecution's case rested mainly on articles published quite openly in a newspaper, and because it seemed a great threat to freedom of expression, we therefore associated ourselves with the defence. Mr. Justice Birkett drew attention to their evident sincerity and idealism when he sentenced Sansom and two other defendants to nine months' imprisonment.

On the day prior to his release from Wormwood Scrubs prison, Sansom was presented with a notice to attend for medical examination for the Army on the following day at 9 a.m., that is, within one hour of being released from prison. The Committee of which we are sponsors, took up the matter with the Minister of Labour, pointing out that Sansom had just served a nine months' sentence for alleged intention to disaffect members of H.M. Forces, and that it was unreasonable, particularly at this stage, to call up such a man for service with the Armed Forces. This plea was rejected, however, and Sansom charged at Acton Police Court with failure to present himself for medical examination. Although full facts were explained to the Bench, he was sentenced to six months' further imprisonment.

In view of Sansom's previous conviction and known principles, to call him up for military service in this way amounts to provocation. Such cat-and-mouse treatment was disavowed and strongly deprecated by the Home Secretary in time of war. That such procedure should be followed in peace-time, makes this case even more disquieting, and we trust that the Ministers responsible will use their powers to right this manifest injustice.

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What is "Free Enterprise"?

I HAVE had a chance recently to study some people who believe in "freedom of enterprise." Emotionally, it's a phrase which makes a very nice noise; factually, it has a sinister reference. You find that when the average person talks of "freedom of enterprise" he means only one thing. The average person is not, under this favourite slogan, campaigning for freedom for (say) the musician, the sculptor, the craftsman, the artist, the poet, the philosopher, to do the things he really wants to do instead of having to boil the pot with trivialities. These apostles of "free enterprise" look utterly blank if you talk of real freedoms of the spirit. By "freedom of enterprise" they mean one thing, and one thing only—the freedom to make as much money as they can. Now, while I hold that every significant freedom should exist, there is one so-called freedom which cannot be permitted—the freedom of man to exploit man. By all means let us have freedom of enterprise—but in everything except the accumulation of wealth.

Seal of slavery

Here is a test. How many people who now clamour for "freedom of enterprise" would still be interested in their battle-cry if my restriction held. How many people care about the thing they do for its own sake rather than for its monetary reward? And yet unless we do rediscover the satisfaction of creative activity (whether it be painting a picture or cultivating one's own garden), we are damned on this earth for ever and ever. "Freedom of enterprise" might imply the promise of salvation; but it has come to signify, in common parlance, the seal of slavery.

For can the freedom of man to exploit man be considered a freedom at all? Obviously the exploited are not free, and the exploiter is a servant of

"Concealed official attitude to relief" - Rhys Davies

At Pontypridd, last Thursday evening, Mr. Rhys Davies, MP, said it was astonishing on how little man could exist when he must, and how selfish he could be mainly through ignorance of conditions in other countries not far away. He would not be surprised if it were found on investigation that the people of the USA consumed twice as much of the absolute essentials as the British; that our lean portion compared similarly with that of the French townsman; and that the same could be said as between the French portion and that of the Germans or Poles. Indeed, were it not for the very low standard of existence among the Central Europeans in peace times it would be impossible for those to survive at all under the recent shortage.

In any case, the most authoritative sources had declared that several millions must perish from cold and hunger this winter. February was, of course, the most dangerous month for human existence on this Continent including our own country.

He read a letter, received just before Christmas, from a Welsh soldier serving in our Army of Occupation in Germany, which, he said, ought to be enough to convince any human being that "Let them starve"—which he feared was the concealed official attitude—made no appeal to our soldiers on the spot.

Albert Burrows J.P.

The Peace Movement and the Northampton Group of the P.P.U. in particular, has suffered a great loss in the passing of Alderman Burrows. His kindness, which endeared him to friend and opponent alike, earned for him the name, which his Jubilee Mayoralty crowned, of "Albert the Good."

A Labour member of the Northampton Town Council for 20 years, he created a precedent by inviting the Corporation to the Friends Meeting House when he became Mayor.

He was chairman of the Public Health Committee and was keenly interested in the various hospitals in the town. But his life and spirit were bound up in his religious life in the Society of Friends, where he was an Elder. He turned to Friends—like many another pacifist—many years ago to find his spiritual home. A pacifist in the Great War, he saw no reason to forsake his faith in the Quaker way of life in the last great war, and many were the young men whom he cheered and encouraged by sound advice and kindly friendship.

The funeral service at the Friends Meeting House was a striking tribute to the love and esteem in which he was held. The crowded congregation included three MPs, Lord and Lady Spenser, and representatives from many organizations. The Mayor and Town Council also attended.

S. S.

A PROMINENT WELSH PACIFIST

The death occurred at Glynwyn, Pore Bach, Denbigh, of Councillor Morris T. Williams, husband of Kate Roberts, the distinguished Welsh novelist. Mr. Williams, who was 45 years of age, was managing director of Messrs. Gee and Sons, proprietors and publishers of "Y Faner," the Welsh National Weekly Newspaper. He was a man of deep culture and a Christian Pacifist by conviction, and earned the deep respect of those who held opposite views by his faithful adherence through the difficult years of the war.

Recently he was elected a member of the Denbigh Borough Council, and his untimely death is a great loss to the public life of the town and district.

- asks OSWELL BLAKESTON

his own sin. The process of making money is the meanest activity of man, and he who devotes himself wholeheartedly to it is inevitably degraded. The profiteers, the men of Big Business are so clearly not the models for any picture we would paint of Free Men; and their "freedom of enterprise" is but a habit-forming drug which robs them of the last vestige of humanity. Isn't it an excuse to "do the dirty" on someone else? Although it is equally a contradiction in terms, one might say that this freedom for economic exploitation might more truly be called the freedom-not-to-be-human.

So, if one uses words carefully, one must see that freedom can never be associated with the machinery for amassing fortunes. We have heard much of the dangers of freedom, such as the danger of the armaments manufacturer who is free to sell death to the highest bidder. The poison is not taken from the word until we apply it to the realm in which freedom exists—to the Spirit. The way to give us genuine "freedom of enterprise" is to give each man security (say some form of national dividend) and the maximum leisure (which can indeed be ample in a machine age). Then man will be free to have enterprise in all things which make man man, and not beast. Take away from man this freedom to exploit others and he will be free.

What of the misfits?

And what, some people may ask, of those who are conditioned under the present regime and are fundamentally anti-social? Even if, they say, your New World, in which people find they cannot use money to gain power, will produce a new type of citizen, what of the misfits? Are they to be free (say) to write exactly what they want, even if it is communal poison? Yes. If without the motive of personal profit, they still feel driven to express themselves, let them. But if they are obviously anti-social, they can write but they cannot publish exactly as they wish; just as the man who is pathologically a murderer cannot be given unlimited licence. That is the meaning of Society—that it should control vicious attempts at compensation by the inferior. But, in all cases, society must impose the minimum of control, just enough to restrain the criminal from doing harm. For instance, the anti-social book might be published under the same cover as an essay, from one of the most brilliant exponents of the mentally balanced, giving the view sanctioned by humanity on the book's argument.

Nothing to exploit

But in a world of true "free enterprise," in a world made free from fear of starvation or exultation by one's neighbour, in a world in which satisfaction can be found by the freedom to express one's significant self, there would be no dangerous unconscious forces for the misfit to exploit. The misfit is not likely to gain a wide influence, even if his work were published without any counter balance. Yes, "freedom of enterprise" is a thing worth boasting; and when people use it as a tag, it's up to us to point out to them what it really means.

HOLIDAY PRIZES FOR ESSAYS

Holidays in Sweden are the prizes for two essays on peace-making subjects, in a competition announced by the Women's International League. It is open, in two classes, to girls and young women of 16-23 years of age, and the winners will be the guests of the Swedish WIL, which is holding a similar competition. Particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, Flat 8, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

Words of Peace

No. 158

What I must do is all that concerns me, and not what people think. This rule, equally arduous in actual and intellectual life, may serve for the whole distinction between greatness and meanness. It is harder, because you will always find those who think they know what is your duty better than you know it. It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after your own; but the real man is he who, in the midst of the crowd, keeps with perfect sweetness to the independence of solitude.

—Emerson.

Inner Battlefield

READERS with a knowledge of German should not miss a book, "Verfemt und Verfolgt" ("Outlawed and Persecuted") by Rahel Behrend, recently published by the Buecher-gilde Gutenberg (a Socialist book club) in Zurich. It is written as a diary by a well-educated woman who, herself half-Jewish and of Christian faith, came to play a leading part among the Jewish community of Munich during the Nazi regime and especially during the time of the deportations. By a stroke of luck she escaped deportation and lived for two years underground in Berlin and Freiburg until she succeeded in getting herself transported over the Swiss frontier by a gang of professional smugglers.

Three things shine out of this book: first, the personality of the writer—brave, helpful, and self-sacrificing; second, the Nazi virtuosity in organizing their devastating policy against the "inner enemy," as well as the aptitude of the German Jews to play, as it were, their ordered and orderly part of being victimized; third, how many ordinary German people were prepared and often eager to back the Jews and other outlaws against the Nazi terror.

So far as I know no other book has as yet been published that casts so much light on the inner battlefield in Germany, with Nazi tyranny hammering at, and being braved by, the free will of humane people, from Bavarian peasant girls, nuns and local officials to Berlin citizens of the most various standing. The "Other Germany" comes into the picture as struggling in its hopeless isolation against an ocean of violent barbarism.

This book contains a message for the present conquerors and administrators of Germany and is, moreover, an overwhelming human document, though, or perhaps because, it is written without much literary skill. It ought to be translated without delay.

H. S.

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